

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11920 01 OF 02 171407Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 SIL-01
LAB-04 /093 W

-----066779 171512Z /41

R 171300Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1068
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 11920

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UR, YO
SUBJECT: TITO'S AUGUST 16 KREMLIN SPEECH

SUMMARY: TITO'S AUG. 16 SPEECH TO BREZHNEV IS ALMOST
VALEDICTORY IN FORM AND CONTENT, REMINDING SOVIET AUDIENCE
OF YUGOSLAV INTERPRETATION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PARTY
AND STATE BILATERAL RELATIONS, PROVIDING YUGOSLAVIA'S
PERSPECTIVE ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND CONDUCT, AND
STAUNCHLY SUPPORTING THE RIGHT OF NATIONAL COMMUNIST AND
WORKERS' PARTIES TO STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION IN THEIR
OWN WAY. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11920 01 OF 02 171407Z

QM IN PORTION OF HIS REMARKS DEVOTED TO BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIP, TITO USED OBLIGATORY PRAISE FOR SOVIET
AND YUGOSLAV ACHIEVEMENTS TO EMPHASIZE YUGOSLAV SELF
MANAGEMENT AND OTHER FORMS OF "DIRECT DEMOCRACY."
DESCRIBING ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IN FAVORABLE, IF
GENERAL TERMS, HE WENT ON TO LIST FOR HIS SOVIET HOUT

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS FOUNDED ON PRINCIPLES OF "TWENTY YEARS AGO", I.E., TIME OF KHRUSHCHEV'S RECONCILIATION WITH TITO. IN ADDITION TO PRINCIPLES OF INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, EQUALITY, AND NON-INTERFERENCE, TITO ALSO SPELLED OUT "RESPONSIBILITY TO ONE'S OWN WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE" AND "RESPECT FOR DIFFERENT PATHS OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFERENT PECULIARITIES OF INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS" OF TWO COUNTRIES AND PARTIES. IN STRONG TERMS, HE SAID THAT CONSISTENT OBSERVATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES WAS GUARANTEE OF SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION AND A "PRECONDITION" FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST.

2. TITO'S REMARKS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION COVERED MORE GENERAL THEMES AND SEEMED DESIGNED NOT SO MUCH TO CRITICIZE THE SOVIET UNION AS TO PRESENT THE YUGOSLAV PERSPECTIVE ON PRESENT DAY TRENDS. FOREMOST WAS HIS REPEATED AND STRONG EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, A TOPIC WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE ONLY GRUDGINGLY BEGUN TO DEAL WITH, BUT ONE WHICH HAS BEEN PUBLICLY PRESENTED TO THEM ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS BEGINNING WITH THE VENEZUELAN PRESIDENT'S NOVEMBER, 1976 VISIT TO MOSCOW AND CONTINUING THROUGH PODGORNY'S VISIT TO AFRICA THIS MARCH. TITO SAID NOT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11920 01 OF 02 171407Z

A WORD IN DEFENSE OF THE USUAL SOVIET LINE ON THIS SUBJECT AND THIS, PLUS THE EMPHASIS WHICH HE GAVE THE PROBLEM, IS NOT LIKELY TO PLEASE THE SOVIETS.

3. AMONG THE OTHER "PECULIARITIES OF INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS" OUTLINED BY TITO WERE:

-- HIS BRIEF COMMENT ON THE WORSENING OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AS ONE OF THE FACTORS WHICH CAUSE INTERNATIONAL INSTABILITY AND THREATEN PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD;

-- HIS IMPARTIAL CRITICISM OF THE LIMITATION OF DETENTE IN BOTH ITS REGIONAL ASPECT AND IN TERMS OF ITS CONTENT, A FACTOR WHICH, HE SAID, SLOWS ITS DEVELOPMENT AND LEADS TO STAGNATION AND TO THE USE OF THE PROCESS FOR "NARROW GOALS" RATHER THAN MAKING POSSIBLE A DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE OVERCOMING OF BLOC SEPARATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11920 02 OF 02 180423Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08 SIL-01
LAB-04 /093 W

-----076496 180426Z /23 42

R 171300Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1075
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 11920

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (F O R T E X T)

4. WHILE HE DID NOT SPELL OUT HIS SUGGESTED REMEDIES
IN THIS REGARD, HIS COMMENTS ON THE HELSINKI ACT AND
SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS AND HIS SUPPORT FOR YUGOSLAVIA'S
ROLE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT PROVIDE SOME INDICA-
TION OF THE DIRECTION OF HIS THOUGHT.

5. OF TOPICAL INTEREST ARE TITO'S COMMENTS ON THE
IMPORTANCE OF THE INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF
NATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES.
DESCRIBING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11920 02 OF 02 180423Z

IN FORM AND METHOD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE, HE EXPANDED ON HIS FORMULA

CONCERNING THE INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE THEIR OWN WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE. "ONLY" ON BASIS OF CONSISTENT RESPECT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES, HE SAID, CAN A "NORMAL AND FRUITFUL EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE" BE SECURED. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, EMPHASIZED TITO, LIES IN THE IMPORTANCE WHICH IT ATTACHED TO THESE PRINCIPLES.

6. COMMENT: TITO'S HOSTS NO DOUBT EXPECTED HIM TO REAFFIRM THE YUGOSLAV INTERPRETATION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THEY WERE PROBABLY ALSO BRACED FOR HIS VIGOROUS DEFENSE OF PLURALISM WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT ALTHOUGH, PARTICULARLY COMING AFTER THE RECENT IDEOLOGICAL FRAY OVER SANTIAGO CARRILLO, THEY CERTAINLY COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO LIKE IT. BUT THEY MIGHT NOT HAVE EXPECTED THE OLD MAN (WHO LOOKED CONSIDERABLY YOUNGER THAN BREZHNEV, BY THE WAY) IMPLICITLY TO CHIDE THEM FOR THEIR "NARROW APPROACH" TO THE BIG INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF THE DAY - DETENTE WRIT LARGE, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND THE ARMS RACE. GIVEN THE APPARENT SIMILARITY IN SOVIET-YUGOSLAV VIEWS AND POLICIES ON THE M.E., THE HORN OF AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE SOVIETS MIGHT REASONABLY HAVE EXPECTED TITO TO EMPHASIZE THE SOLIDARITY OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES AND TO LAMBASTE THE IMPERIALISTS. BY HIS STATESMANLIKE AND IMPARTIAL DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, TITO NOT ONLY AVOIDED DIRECTLY AND PUBLICLY ALIGNING HIMSELF WITH THE SOVIETS, BUT STOOD ASIDE AS A CRITIC OF BOTH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11920 02 OF 02 180423Z

SUPER POWERS AND AS A SPOKESMAN FOR THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS MAY NOT BELIEVE IT POLITICAL TO RESPOND AT THIS TIME, BUT THEY WILL NOT BE HAPPY WITH THIS SPEECH.

TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 17-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOSCOW11920
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770296-1290
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770853/aaaabsqk.tel
Line Count: 212
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a1246b59-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1577699
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TITOVS AUGUST 16 KREMLIN SPEECH SUMMARY: TITO'S AUG. 16 SPEECH TO BREZHNEV IS ALMOST VALEDICTORY IN FORM AND CONTENT, REMINDING SOVIET
TAGS: PGOV, UR, YO, (TITO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a1246b59-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009